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ABSTRACT

This document concerns the problem of violent youth gangs, noting that gang activity is no longer restricted to the depressed urban centers but is arriving in suburbs and edge cities. This paper discusses who is in gangs, what gangs offer their members, positive prevention and intervention approaches, and approaches to avoid. The suggested approaches are applicable to any gang setting, but may prove most helpful in settings with relatively new gang problems. A section on demographics and related dynamics in gangs presents a brief picture of who is in gangs, looking at ethnicity, gender, and age of gang members. The following section looks at negative responses to gangs, including repressive policies, labeling, and suspicion; enforcement and the threat of imprisonment; and a tendency to treat the gang as the unit of intervention. The next section suggests a number of positive responses: respecting one another, cooperative learning, engaging in direct dialogue, and providing job opportunities. The conclusion lists four extremely significant conditions leading to differences in the behavior of delinquent gang members as compared to normatively socialized youths and notes that programs which have been most successful in preventing or diminishing serious gang violence have taken these dynamics into account. The document ends with brief descriptions of 26 sample gang intervention/prevention programs. (Contains 59 references.) (NB)

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Membership in Violent Gangs Fed by Suspicion, Deterred Through Respect

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Introduction

Why the Panic?

The majority of our youths do not join gangs, even in the most gang-involved neighborhoods. The proportion of participants remains fairly constant from year to year, approximating 10% of gang-aged youths in affected neighborhoods (Martinez, 1991; Ross, Snortum, & Beyers, 1982; Vigil, 1988). Furthermore, gangs are actually responsible for small percentages of the overall crime rate, even in terms of juvenile crime. For example, even in highly gang-involved urban centers, gang-related homicides accounted for only about 5% of the homicide rate a few years ago (Spergel, 1984, p. 204) and gang-related homicide rates have been dropping (Chow, 1991, p. B8). The percentage of gang crime drops if you look at all types of crime. Several large-city police chiefs acknowledging gang problems in their cities revealed that "offenses by youth gangs represent less than 1% of all crime and less than 2% of juvenile crime" (Huff, 1989, p. 525). This finding is consistent with social research on the proportion of juvenile crime attributable to gangs (Morash, 1983). Why, then, the attendant sense of urgency and fear? Why are the neighborhoods troubled by gang activity so profoundly affected?

In part, the often extreme and unpredictable violence breeds panic, even if it represents only a small part of what gang members do. In fact, the biggest difference between gangs then and now is not the youth of its members or the extent of gang membership. Rather, it is the frequency with which guns and automatic weapons are the arms of choice and the frequency with which gang violence includes homicide. Finally, parents fear that their own children may either be drawn into gangs or caught in the crossfire. But even more overwhelming is the sense of helplessness before the problem.

The dynamics of gang membership are poorly understood. Gangs have proven resistant to stringent enforcement approaches, emerging with a greater sense of their own reputations. Drug-involved gangs have proven resistant to the long and costly war on drugs. Social programs working with specific gangs end up unintentionally strengthening the solidarity of the gangs they work with, often with an accompanying increase in acts of delinquency. Finally, gang activity is no longer restricted to the depressed urban centers long seen as the arena of our worst social ills. Gangs are arriving in suburbs and edge cities, often the very places parents settle in to protect their children from such city problems.

Gangs in the Suburbs and Edge Cities

Of major concern is the emergence of gangs in areas traditionally free of gang activity, including edge cities and suburbs. Three conditions relatively new to the edge city account for much of this

phenomenon. First, edge cities are in a state of social disorganization brought about through rapid growth. Second, the population growth is accompanied by a demographic shift, often sparking ethnic and racial conflict as urban escape can no longer be referred to as "White flight." Third, teen-age culture is imitative, and the defining ethos is urban.

Gangs most often evolve in a climate of instability. The rapid growth of edge cities and suburban sprawls engender instability, particularly as population growth outstrips traditional social supports and the established social structure. This happens even as major urban centers are becoming more stable, albeit still suffering from social and economic ills:

> Violent gangs, and probably gangs generally, have moved farther away from the central city and are spread outward to the city limits and beyond. While inner-city slums still exist, some have become quite stable. Urban areas of social transition and disorganization now occur in different parts of the metropolitan area. (Spergel 1984, p. 206)

The result is that the intensity of gang activity has diminished somewhat in urban centers, as evidenced in declining gang-related homicide rates, while gangs are newly developing or arriving in the edge cities. This does not only apply to edge cities with depressed economies. As Spergel notes, beginning in the 70s, the problem of gang violence began emerging in "radically changing middle-class" (1984, p. 208) neighborhoods.

Sometimes gangs are literally imported from one area to another as a side effect of mobility in general and urban flight in particular. This describes the situation in Missouri:

> It was clear that gang activity was more prevalent in the city and surrounding suburbs than persons had been willing to admit. We learned how area school desegregation plans had become an important vehicle in transporting gang activity to new areas and that several White gangs in the city had emerged to combat the "threat" of minority persons in "their" schools and neighborhoods. (Monti 1991, p. 37)

The demographic shift may bring already committed gang members into a new area. It also may engender new gangs through racist backlash. Whichever dynamic operates, and it may well be both, research shows that "areas in racial or ethnic transition–Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and to a lesser extent Black–appear to be vulnerable to high rates of gang violence" (Spergel 1984, p. 209). The critical point seems to be that as any new ethnic group attains 10% or more of the local population, racial conflict occurs (Bodinger-deUriarte, 1992). The 10% rule applies to newly growing White populations as well as to minority populations.

At other times there is no true tie. For example, in describing suburban and small city gangs in Illinois, Hagedorn described them as imitative of the Chicago gangs:

> Gangs in smaller cities tend to follow big-city traditions, borrow ideas about big-city gang structure, and respond favorably to the image of big-city gangs (1988: 78).

What To Do

The following paper discusses who is in today's gangs, what gangs have to offer their members, positive prevention and intervention approaches, and approaches to avoid. The suggested approaches are applicable to any setting; however, suggestions may prove most helpful in settings with relatively new gang problems. First, gang membership is not yet bolstered by local tradition. Second, school, enforcement, and agency personnel interacting with gang members still view the problem as new and are more likely to deem innovative solutions appropriate. Third, gang intervention and prevention policies may remain relatively flexible during early involvement stages. Consequently, policymakers and educators have a window of opportunity to work toward resolution before gangs become entrenched and before interventionists are overly committed to a given approach.

The following overview is intended to provide background information and a discussion of the issues to help guide further investigation, stimulate discussion, and orient policymaking. In this effort, descriptions of a number of gang prevention/intervention programs follow the text.

Demographics and Related Dynamics in Gangs

This section presents a brief picture of who is in gangs–that is, the ethnicity, gender, and age of gang members. Included in this picture are comments on what issues are associated with the demographics of membership.

Ethnicity and Race Among Gang Members

Gang membership draws from all racial and ethnic groups. Although most gangs are race or ethnicity specific, a small number is integrated. Latino gangs are the most likely to accept a small proportion of members from other racial and ethnic groups. Even fewer gangs are intentionally multiracial or multiethnic (e.g., Oregon's The Red Cobras and Northern California's BMWs) and most of these are relatively new on the scene.

African American gangs, Asian gangs, Latino gangs, and white gangs differ from one another in use of symbols or identifying clothing, leadership styles, territoriality, and general organization. For example, much of the criminal behavior African American gang members engage in takes place in their own communities, whereas Asian gangs may travel hundreds of miles to engage in criminal behavior, returning to their own communities afterwards. Also, African American and Latino

gangs are much more likely to identify themselves through colors and a variety of insignia than are the Asian gangs.

Certainly, ethnic concentration is more typical of gangs than is a diverse membership. This reflects one of the needs fulfilled by gang membership—a feeling of acceptance and belonging not perceived to be readily available elsewhere. This is particularly true among ethnic and racial minorities who perceive the school environment as alien, unwelcoming, or even hostile. For example, one Latina with a fairly good school record and no history of trouble began attending a school with only two other Latino students. She felt like an outsider and joined the local Latino gang where she felt acceptance. An African American former gang member speaks directly to the issue:

> A lot of teachers are racists, even if they don't know it. A Black kid might see only one Black teacher while he's going to school. Some White teachers cannot understand us Black kids. Some Black kids think all White teachers don't understand them. (Arthur, 1992, p. 48)

Feelings of being ostracized, persecuted, or just generally undervalued due to race or ethnicity are common among minority youths, as are perceptions that police watch them more closely than they watch others. Unfortunately there are grounds for concern. Enforcement studies reveal that police are eight times more likely to arrest African American male juveniles than they are to arrest White male juveniles caught in the same illegal activity. This may occur through unofficial practice or through misguided policies or even legislation. Findings during a Civil Rights Commission review of proposed Missouri legislation provide an illustration:

> It was apparent that the proposed state legislation would have a disproportionate impact on minority youth who were alleged or actual gang members. Given the way gang members would have been identified (e.g., clothing, tattoos, prior associations), several officials acknowledged that White gang members would not have come under serious scrutiny or been identified as collaborating in an ongoing criminal enterprise. Even though several area White gangs were reported to have contacts with nationally known "hate groups," Whites would probably have escaped the serious legal penalties set aside for persons identified as gang members under the proposed legislation. (Monti, 1991, p. 37)

Similarly, the National School Safety Center asserts that "while some youths become involved in White supremacist gangs," it is "youths involved in punk rock and heavy metal music" that are "the most troublesome" of the White adolescent groups (1991, p. 18).

The motivation for gang membership among some is racism but this is a double-edged sword. It can contribute to an alienated environment for both the victim and the racist, leading each to seek support through gang affiliation. It is easy to understand the alienation experienced by the victim. However, racists also hold alienating world views. They frequently perceive members of different

ethnic or racial groups as challenging their values, or competing for scarce resources and jobs, or receiving undue privileges. Racists feel that their way of life is under siege. The result can be alienation, resentment, and hostility erupting in very serious violence (Bodinger-deUriarte, 1992).

This has not only resulted in the formation of dangerous White supremacist gangs such as the Skinheads, but also in minority gang conflict drawn on racial or ethnic lines. That these are not simply escalated territorial disputes is evident in the national association affiliations evident among White supremacists and in the specifically racial (rather than neighborhood or gang-related) reasons given for hostilities when different minority-specific groups fight one another. For example, after a particular city was plagues with 55 drive-by shootings, 10 ending in death, a Latino gang member justified the violence between his gang and the Cambodian gang in the following way:

> The Cambodian people, they are too hard headed...Half of them don't even know how to drive, and half of them don't know any English. Our government gives them everything. (in Mydans 1991a, p. A12)

The rationale does not involve any territorial dispute, but involves a broader-based bigotry. This is an increasingly important issue as urban centers, suburbs, and edge cities experience demographic shifts which may result in growing racial and ethnic tensions.

Finally, differential scrutiny further feeds feelings of alienation and disrespect for authority. This also is typical of much of the gang prevention and awareness literature that targets "potential" gang members. Parents, educators, and community members are told to beware of children and teenagers using words like "the hood" and "homeboy," when these terms belong to the common parlance of the area, particularly among minority youth, regardless of gang affiliation (Youth Gangs Task Force, 1990). It is as if 1960s teachers had been told to beware of adolescents using the word "groovy." Asian youths with Tattoos also are referred to as possible gang members despite the fact that body art has been a long-standing and respected tradition among many of the Asian cultures.

Gender Distribution in Gangs

Gang membership is much stronger among males than females. This has always been true. Traditionally, gangs averaged between 5-10% female membership. This percentage has remained fairly consistent over time, with males continuing to make up approximately 90% of the gang roster. However, the *nature* of female membership has changed somewhat over the last decade.

Females have traditionally affiliated with gangs closely enough to be considered members, but have been able to move more freely across turfs, often gathering pertinent information on rival gang activity in the process (Vigil 1991). They also actively participate in the gang's most common activities: socializing and hanging out. The differentiation of roles is not limited to

females, however. Gangs are, and have always been, comprised of both peripheral and committed members (Thrasher, 1963; Vigil, 1991). Peripheral members take little active part, primarily running errands or making deliveries. Traditionally, females seldom moved out of peripheral roles into the roles of committed members, as did their male counterparts when they were old enough, valued enough, or motivated enough. In addition, although there have long been instances of all-male gangs, independent female gangs were virtually unknown. Females now make up approximately 5-9% of the active membership (Huff 1983; National School Safety Center, 1991, p. 3). Over the last decade, females have even established a few independent gangs (Moore, 1991; Morash, 1983; Quicker, 1983).

The good news is that though female gang involvement may have become more active, females maintain lower levels of delinquency (Morash, 1983) and belong to gangs for a shorter time than do males (Short, 1990).

Age Distribution in Gangs

Most experts on current gangs agree that membership begins in childhood, is most visible during adolescence, and continues through adulthood, with members eventually "aging out" of the group. Many gang workers treat the child membership as a new phenomenon, however, social scientists researching gang activity have noted active child participation throughout gang history. Studies of gangs in 1912 (Pacyga, 1989) and in the 1920s and the 1930s (Thrasher, 1963), as well as current studies, all mention the role children played in the gangs. Studies agree that children tend to be peripheral members, that the most active members are adolescents, and that gang activity persists into adulthood.

Vigil places active gang membership among barrio Latinos between the ages of 10 and mid-20s (1991, p. 99). The National School Safety Center describes gangs in general as having membership "from as early as 9 to 10 years up to more than 40 years" (1991, pp. 2-3). Thrasher put the ages of White gang members of the 1920s and 30s between 6 and 50, with the most active members ranging from 11 to mid-30s (1963, p. 60). However, in most cases the younger members are peripheral, called "wannabes" or "pee-wees" in most contemporary settings as they were called "fringers" in bygone days.

The Needs That Gangs Fulfill

The primary activities of gang members are not much different than those of nongang members, including large doses of sports, social events, dating and flirting. Even in antisocial aspects, gangs tend to only be more extreme, not significantly different, in the majority of their behaviors:

> Gang members spend most of their time engaging in exaggerated versions of typical adolescent behavior (rebelling against authority by skipping school, refusing to do homework, and disobeying parents; wearing clothing and listening to music that sets them apart from most adults; and having primary allegiance to their peer group instead of their parents or other adults). (Huff, 1989, p. 530)

Some researchers have gone so far as to note:

> What gang members do most is nothing...Members typically sleep late, wander around and gather to watch the action. The only thing more boring than being a gang member is being a researcher watching a gang member. (Klein, Maxson, & Cunningham, 1988)

What rivets our attention to gangs is their failure to mature out of adolescent rebellion, the fact that they do not develop a sense of future consequences as meaningful, and, most dramatically, the violence. This, too, is tied to the socialization and identity formation of the gang-involved adolescent.

The gang ethos is primarily one of adolescence, and is focused on peer interactions. Although the age range of membership suggests that perhaps overmuch attention has been focused on peer pressure aspects of gang membership, the adolescent member tends to be the most active and the most visible. Ironically, the seriousness of delinquency is correlated with age—the most destructive members are the older members. However, it is during adolescence that membership tends to be flexible, and the move from periphery to commitment or vice versa, and even movement out of the gang seem most common. It also is during adolescence that identity formation is at its peak. For these reasons, adolescent motives are the focus.

Gangs, like all peer associations, provide individuals with the ingredients for self-identification. This is of particular importance for youth in disorganized social environments lacking psychological supports. Such conditions may consist in one or more of the following: troubled neighborhoods, low academic self-expectations, low economic economic expectations, and/or conflicted or largely absent family interactions, absence of credible and trustworthy normative role models. Indeed, it is the case that gang members commonly perceive others with distrust and attribute cynical motives to nonmembers (Arthur, 1992). As discussed above, gangs also draw largely form youths who come from disorganized social environments or environments in which they feel alone or ostracized. Most social research agrees that, for whatever reason, gang members are drawn to gangs from a shared perception that other social institutions have failed them. Under such circumstances, the gang provides a set of standards and expectations for behavior; it defines appropriate roles and reciprocities for negotiating the social and emotional environment; they also provide emotional support and a sense of belonging. This may be why programs that include strong *ongoing* connections with caring adult role models (Brown, 1978; Fattah, 1987; Vigil, 1988) or positive peer culture (Sherer, 1985) or ongoing guidance in

leadership programs (Spergel, 1984, 1986) seem to work so well in reconnecting the adolescent to normative behavior.

Perhaps the reason most familiar to society at large is that gangs often provide protection in a dangerous environment. Many of the peripheral members are initially associated with a gang through the need for protection. Indeed, gang members talk about their gangs in terms of necessary alliance in a hostile setting:

> If anybody threatens a member we had to get together and beat the guys near to death. That's when you show how tough you are, because you have to be tough to make it in this world. (Vigil, 1988, p. 428)

> I was born into my barrio. It was either get your ass kicked every day, or join a gang and get your ass kicked occasionally by rival gangs. Besides, it was fun and I belonged. (op. cit. 427)

More than utilitarian, however, the relationship is talked about as one of camaraderie and loyalty. For example, Latino gang members are very neighborhood loyal and even when they move to a new neighborhood, will not change gang affiliations and will frequently visit the old neighborhood (Moore, 1978; Vigil, 1988).

Not all the motives are positive, protective, or neutral, however. The downside of the strong need for a familial sense of belonging is not only that the need for nurture and safety is not met elsewhere. Gang members also tend to share "perceptions that most adults and authorities are uncaring, selfish and dictatorial" (Arthur 1992, p. 35). The danger of repressive antigang policies in furthering this attitude is significant.

Negative Responses

Repressive Policies, Labeling, and Suspicion

The fear of gang activity on school grounds sparks a wave of reaction against the visible presence of gang members. This policy of policing the trappings of gangs tends to mushroom and apply to those who look like they *might* be gang members, or those who look like they *might soon* become gang members. The effect is that adolescents attend schools in an unhealthy atmosphere of suspicion, where the sentiment can easily become one of "us and them."

> Schools attempts at controlling the problem have included the use of metal detectors, random searches of lockers, security patrols, and vigorous expulsion policies. Some have strictly banned all gang related insignia (e.g., hats, scarves, jackets, graffiti, etc.) These kinds of interdiction in our schools, however, fail to significantly deter gangs. This is because these types of restraints fail to deal with the real dynamics behind gang growth. In fact, if not done carefully, such

> interdiction can increase the potency of gangs. (McEnvoy in Arthur, 1992, foreword)

Gang prevention and awareness activities have included intense effort spent on identifying gang-related insignia and repressing them in dress codes. This may have short-term effects, but no lasting positive value. In addition, it is not practical and, in fact, may even be counterproductive.

Youth fashion trends, by design, tend to oppose adult aesthetics. This does not mean all such self-expression is gang-related, yet much literature seems to confuse actual gang expression with rap and rock music styles. In other words, severely alienated youths and normally rebelling adolescents may choose the same fashions for themselves. Over-reaction to adolescents with an in-group look or style hurts adult credibility. It also may contribute to polarizing adult and youth populations, further alienating, and thus losing influence over, more peripheral gang members and even nonmembers. Such an emphasis on outward appearance also sends a message that authority is more concerned with how you look than with who you really are. One former gang member expresses it thus:

> I know that some people look at me and seeing that I am in a gang, think I'm stupid. How do they know just by looking? I hate it when someone treats me bad just because of the way I look. I know guys that are never bothered by the police or teachers, but they are worse than the guys in my gang. They look straight and no one suspects them. The principal likes them just because they look good to him. He doesn't know how really bad they are. The security guard never bothers them like he does us...yet it's those other guys who are the bad ones, they will really hurt you. (gang member in Arthur 1992, p. 34)

Labeling a young person as a gang member or as a potential gang member carries a danger in and of itself. Once labeled, a set of character stereotypes and the relevant expectations are attached to the youth. The social process underway makes it difficult to break away from the definition and its behaviors for several reasons:

- Because it runs counter to expectation, normative behavior is likely to be overlooked and, thereby, not get reinforced.
- Opportunities to engage in positive experiences are less frequent for those deemed not to be appropriate participants.
- Peers and adults able to provide positive influence and act as positive role models tend to avoid association with those labeled as bad influences.
- The outcasts tend to seek comfort in affiliation with one another, thus increasing the chances that negative behaviors will be reinforced.
- The alienation experienced by the labeled individual may lead to heightened rebellion and delinquency in a further rejection of the standards of those who rejected him/her.

Therefore, extreme care should be exercised when "targeting" gang members and potential gang members.

Even where gang clothing and insignia are identifiable (and they can change as quickly as dress codes are enforced), repressing their use does not deal with the behavior attached to conflict among differently identified gangs. Further, however many rules about dress and signals are enforced, members of the group will find ways to signify membership. Finally, the very attention given to such symbols increases their power. Gangs can take pride in the fact that their reputations have earned them special notice and that schools acknowledge the power of their colors.

Antigang activists should be wary of setting up such a conflictive atmosphere, as it tends to be conducive to gang development. Gangs are fed by similar alienation from the school and community environment and through conflict. Car clubs, dance groups, social groups, and street or corner groups often evolve into delinquent gangs through shared conflict with other groups of community youths, and through a shared sense that they are opposed by police, schools, and families. This dynamic has been identified in gang studies as early as 1927 (Thrasher).

With the advent of students arming themselves, many schools have begun to have patrolmen on campus. However necessary this might be, a repressive environment which makes the students feel under siege in their own schools cannot provide a feasible solution to feeling under siege by their peers. Setting the tone of respect and concern for the students is essential to success. Louis Gonzalez, gang intervention consultant, advises schools that find police presence to be necessary to give the officer a small office where students can stop by and visit. "The students will realize they're not just there for arrests, but also to help (in Valdez, 1991, p. B2).

The friendly approach can be powerful. Ross, Snortum, and Beyers (1982) surveyed 1,397 high school students (10% self-identified as gang members and 7% more as car clubbers) and found that:

> Acts by individual officers *can* influence the way that people perceive the police. Young people who had recent experience with officers who were helpful or friendly were more positive toward police than those without such contact. (p 18)

Further, surprising numbers of these students said they would be interested in part-time work affiliated with the police.

Enforcement and the Threat of Imprisonment

There has historically been little effect on deterring or diminishing gang activity where the *primary* form of intervention is increased emphasis on arrest and conviction (Hagedorn, 1988; Jacobs, 1977; Moore, 1978; Short, 1990). For example, in the mid 1980s, Milwaukee officially left "no

room for any response to gangs but police and prison" (Hagedorn, 1988, p. 157). Consequently, approximately two thirds of the gang leadership were sent to prison. However, Hagedorn reports that 90 percent of them remained involved with their gangs and, further, that most "believed that prison strengthens gang involvement" (ibid). The dynamic is not unique to Milwaukee but also was evident in Chicago and Los Angeles (Jacobs, 1977; Moore, 1978). Jackson and McBride concur, pointing out that by doing time, a member's value to the gang is heightened:

> Arrests and time spent in probation camps build a member's gang status, establishing little or no incentive for him to break the cycle. Nor do the disciplinary programs that youth offenders are exposed to provide any adequate alternative role models that are effective in counteracting the allure of gang membership. (1991, p. 13)

Treat the Behavior, Not the Gang

Perhaps one of the reasons these approaches remain ineffective is that they continue to focus on the issue of gang membership and gang identity *per se*, rather than focusing on individuals. The youth—who is striving for recognition, reputation, status, and power (like most Americans)—is treated as part of a generic set of juvenile delinquent gangbangers. This serves to dehumanize the youths involved and, again, labels them as less worthwhile than others based on their group affiliations. The response is to maintain close ties to the only place you find those who will treat you as an individual of value, the gang. This dynamic may explain why not only enforcement procedures but also social work procedures aimed at gang reform fail when they intervene with the gang rather than with individuals who belong to a gang (Spergel, 1986).

Treating the gang as the unit of intervention also may make matters worse because it draws attention to the power the gang has already exerted. It may act to increase pride in a gang that has made social agencies, schools, or law enforcers "sit up and take notice." Focusing on the gang may also serve to bond the gang more tightly and increase the members' sense of solidarity. Treating peripheral members as indistinguishable from committed members may actually lead to increasing the degree to which they identify with the group and heighten their sense of belonging. Thus, not only is *general* alienation from the mainstream community perpetuated and strengthened, but the sense of belonging with the gang, *in specific*, is enhanced. A strong sense of "us against them" can result. The solution is to treat the *behavior*, not the affiliation, to interact with the *individual* , not the reputation. Gang interventions with a positive orientation tend to do this.

Positive Responses

Respecting One Another

> A kid can get to like his school just the way he likes his gang. But the teachers and the principals will have to respect him just like the gang respects him. My brother feels good when he is with his gang. My brother feels bad at school. The gang is his family. The gang is where he can talk to someone and be listened to. (in Arthur 1992, p. 33)

The former gang member quoted above did find a teacher at school who made the experience meaningful. For him it only took one teacher. What did she do that was so powerful? According to this young African American man, she cared and she was equitable:

> Only Mrs. Johnson treats us like equals. That's how all kids want to be treated. Teachers aren't any better than me. It's funny, the one teacher I liked and respected the most is White, but I never heard anyone mention her race. I think she's Jewish, but none of us care. We care about her too. She is real...Mrs. Johnson cared. She really cared. She treated me like a person instead of just another dumb kid...I quit my gang because of Mrs. Johnson. She really wanted to help me and I couldn't let her down (in Arthur, 1992, pp. 61-62).

Respect does not merely consist of a caring and nurturing attitude. It also goes beyond creating an environment which encourages full participation. Respect also entails holding one another accountable for our behavior. In the case of classroom teachers and school administrators, it involves maintaining consistently high expectations of each student's effort to progress and improve academic and prosocial skills. Unless this is part of the formula, the troubled or "at-risk" students may get the message that they are seen as incapable of living up to normal expectations. Some students perceiving this alienating message will cease trying to meet standards, while others will make a point of violating standards in response. One former gang member even holds such teachers partly responsible for the drop out rate:

> During all my gang years, I had little respect for my teachers or principals....They didn't care about me or my friends...A teacher might not use the word stupid, but we knew what she meant by how she treated us...They didn't respect me, so I didn't respect them. Some teachers think we respect them just because they are teachers. I don't. I respect those who are real and respect me. I, and most of my friends, can tell a phony teacher right away. We get sick of them. Lots of kids drop out because of them. A lot of us don't go to certain classes. (in Arthur, 1992, pp. 46-47)

Unfortunately, teachers and others interacting with gang youths often do not try to hold them accountable to any standard, in fear of retaliation.

Ironically, teachers perceived as treating gang members according to standards differing from those expected of others are held in contempt. This is true whether there are stricter or more lenient standards (Huff 1989). In fact, those teachers perceived to be fair and to consistently act as professionals are respected:

> Contrary to much "common wisdom" teachers who demonstrate that they care about a youth and then are firm but fair in their expectations are rarely, if ever, the victims of assault by gang members...During two years of interviews, *not one* gang member ever said that a teacher who insisted on academic performance (within the context of a caring relationship) was assaulted. (Huff, 1989, p. 531)

The same dynamic is true in the relationships between gang youths and police officers. If they maintain consistent professional standards, and are perceived as fair, they engender respect.

> When asked what an officer should do when "baited" in front of other gang members or onlookers, gang members typically respond that an officer should "be professional,"...walk away when challenged. Gang members admit grudging respect for such officers, and this respect appears to be even greater for officers who demonstrate some personal concern for gang members. (Huff, 1989, p. 531)

Those who are fair and act within established department guidelines also are considered to be showing respect. This is true even when the policeman is acting as an enforcer:

> Though the code is unwritten, it is understood and accepted. While gangs do not necessarily approve of law enforcement action against them, there will seldom be retaliation if the action seems fair and warranted by the circumstances and within the law. However, if a gang feels it was treated "unfairly," the officer involved will be subjected to almost constant confrontation and harassment. (Jackson & McBride, 1991, p. 109)

This not only illustrates the importance of treating one another with respect, but also reinforces the point that antigang programs centered around repressive enforcement tactics could easily escalate the violence, rather than reduce it.

Cooperative Learning

Though declining achievement in school is strongly correlated with long-term gang membership, this neither indicates that the least able are recruited nor that gang members are not interested in learning. In the words of one young gang member:

> It's easy for us to recruit future soldiers for our gang. All the kids want to join. They don't like school. we keep hearing about kids that don't learn, but they learn a lot from us; and they learn quickly. We've even taught some of them some math

> and how to read. Why don't they read in school? Maybe there is something wrong with the school, not us. (in Arthur, 1992, pp. 34-35)

Ironically, this example of gang activity provides a reminder of the potential power of peer tutoring and cooperative learning models. The fact that even academic subjects have been learned in gang settings holds a lesson for us all. It provides a reminder that it is easiest to learn in a supportive environment where one feels a sense of belonging free of negative judgment. This is the very set of conditions the gang members perceive as absent in their school environments.

Where school environments have incorporated a team attitude and use strategies such as cooperative learning, cross age tutoring, and interactive instruction, gang-involved youths have often become reattached to the school community. Benjamin Franklin Middle School, in a setting of high gang activity, provides an example. Instructional reform is among the school improvement elements underway, another of which is consistently high standards enforced across the school. According to Principal Linda Moore, teachers were provided with workshops where they:

> "learned activities to get all students involved—such as cooperative learning...The teachers' goal is to make classroom lessons challenging enough for all students so they are more interested in learning than misbehaving. (Cowan, 1991, p. A4)

Although multiple reform efforts at Benjamin Franklin make the impact of one specific intervention difficult to assess, there have been results. Comparing the postintervention figures (1990-91) with the preintervention figures (1989-90), we find that violent assaults on campus decreased to 8 from 48 and ordinary fights dropped to none from 120.

After 35 years of working in numerous gang-area schools, Richard Arthur touts cooperative learning practices from personal experience and from and educator's perspective in reviewing "over five hundred research studies" on cooperative learning which were overwhelmingly positive (1992, p. 102). Instructional approaches which involve the class as a whole recognize every member as contributing to the team. Because people are participating together they begin to bond together, to the class activities and to one another. This is what makes cooperative enterprise so powerful a force against alienation.

Engaging in Direct Dialogue

Too often policymakers, administrators, and school personnel treat gang members as an enemy that cannot be negotiated with. This is opposed to policies derived from respect. Respect for one another includes face-to-face interaction and discussion. This has proven to be a successful tactic whether focused on issues of prevention or on resolving conflict among already active gang members.

The Alternative to Gang Membership Program was implemented in Long Beach elementary schools in an effort to prevent youngsters from joining active local gangs. The program was sparked by 18 months of gang conflict resulting in over 50 drive by shootings. During the 10-week course, advisers talk to fourth and sixth graders about life on the street and about viable alternatives. Advisers and students discuss graffiti, gang attire, violence, peer pressure, and the difficulties students face in coping with their environment. Before and after tests administered to the students showed the impact of this approach. According to Fred Kimbrel, coordinator of the Drug and Gang Suppression Office sponsoring the program:

> At the beginning of the 10-week course last year, 20.5 percent of the elementary school students thought gangs were OK. At the end of the program, that number had shrunk to 2.6 percent. The same was true for graffiti, which decreased from a 24.1 percent acceptance level to 2.6 percent, and for drugs, which went from 6 percent to 1.2 percent approval. (in Martinez, 1991, p. A1)

As impressive as these statistics are, they represent attitude changes in youths that are either noninvolved or are only peripherally involved with gangs.

Even more heartening is the fact that such approaches also work with older, committed gang members. Open discussion of the issues has proven effective, both in forestalling specific conflicts and in fostering broader behavioral change. One long-time teacher and principal in schools troubled by gangs used the direct approach to negotiate a truce for his school:

> I became a principal of a high school in Northern California where there were many active gangs. Almost the first thing I did was to meet with their leaders and ask for a truce on campus. Fortunately for me, they agreed. Our school became neutral territory. (Arthur, 1992, p. 2)

Truces are not always so easy to come by, however, and true behavioral change is still more challenging, yet the direct approach is powerful.

Students at Temecula Valley High School described themselves as being "in the middle of a race war" (Hardy, 1991, p. B3) between Mexican American students in low slung pants and Raiders garb and Skinheads in combat boots. Gang graffiti and White supremacist slogans adorned school walls. However, Vice Principal Richard Alderson implemented a conflict management strategy which brought the two groups together to "discuss disagreements in a neutral setting, learn to diffuse potentially violent confrontations and put a halt to false rumors that sparked tensions" (Hardy 1991, p. B3). Attendance began sporadically, but rapidly grew to over 100 students. Eventually, delegates were chosen by students from each group to attend the weekly meetings. The result? One of the students involved in the conflict group said, "I have less worries here now...I don't have to watch my back anymore" (ibid).

Job Opportunities

Respect, high expectations, learning strategies which encourage full participation, and direct dealing are key elements in reconnecting the would be gang member to his or her school environment. This eliminates a potent source of alienation. However, despair over meaningful life chances is another significant problem which can alienate youths from a sense of the future and their connection with the community. In fact, in a survey of youth opinions on police, gangs, and causes of crime, Ross, Snortum, and Beyers (1982) found that 40% of the 1,397 9th to 12th graders mentioned the lack of jobs (10% of the sample were self-identified gang members). The perceived lack of jobs is a factor in delinquent behavior.

> When individuals subscribe to the culturally valued goals of money, status, and power, and the legitimate means of achieving these desired goals are perceived as blocked, then they will probably choose from among the available illegitimate opportunities (e.g., drug selling). Gangs offer in their recruitment a way for their members to achieve money, social standing and power. (McEnvoy in Arthur, 1992, foreword)

Research suggests that "gang youth would choose reputable employment over crime if they had the option" (Gaustad, 1991, p. 47). Several school/community programs have recognized the value of providing legitimate opportunities to potential and active gang members. Programs that have involved jobs, particularly jobs within the community, have had great success. Providing opportunities is essential to investing youths with a feeling that the future matters. However, such programs need to be pursued in a realistic and well-grounded manner.

Social reform innovations typically suffer from unstable funding. Unfortunately, if gang intervention job programs fold, the alienation felt by gang members often is worse than before expectations were raised. In such cases there is a feeling of betrayal that is even harder to redress than initial feelings of alienation and distrust. Further, the feeling that "planning for the future" is not relevant to them may lead disenfranchised youths further into a lifestyle of the "here and now" with no heed for the consequences. One principal describes such an experience:

> I joined a special neighborhood program for young people. In so doing, I met with several gang leaders. Again, I made a deal with them. I promised to give their members training and jobs if they would make our schools neutral territory. The arrangement worked better than anyone predicted. The gang members were paid to paint over graffiti throughout our community...Others cleaned the houses and yards of senior citizens. Some were trained as mechanics and aircraft workers....some went to college. It was a great program but it ended (when government funding ended). I knew that dangerous and illicit gang activities would increase as the program ended. And they did. The neighborhood is more dangerous now than ever before. (Arthur, 1992, p. 4)

Another ill-fated effort failed to permanently rehabilitate participants. After graduating from a 21-week, full-time Urban Leadership Training (ULT) Program course, participants were promised full-time positions in community service jobs. The 22 African American gang leaders who completed the course were placed in such jobs. Six weeks later, "due to a financial crisis within the community organization" their salaries were cut. Consequently:

> Many of the ULT graduates felt betrayed by the community leaders who had promised but not obtained full-time employment for them. Several returned to the illegal activities which had partially supported them prior to their program involvement. (Krisberg, 1974, p. 54)

Perhaps these situations could have been saved if advance planning included options for maintaining meaningful places for these individuals even if the specific jobs disappeared. Better yet, programs using employment as a rehabilitative tool should endeavor to provide employment opportunities in situations known to be relatively stable. In fact, after studying 100 gang youths in a job program and reviewing related research, Willman and Snortum suggest that the focus of such programs should not only be job procurement, but job maintenance (1982, p. 213).

Conclusion

Gangs have long persisted as a social organization among alienated youths. Although current sentiment, media images, and community spokespersons frequently depict gangs as having expanded to newly horrifying proportions, recruiting significantly more young women, and attracting younger and younger members, this scenario is not supported on examining gang history. Studies of 1912 and 1920s gangs reveal that gang membership involves roughly the same age and gender distribution and attracts approximately the same percentage (10-12%) of the youth population in gang-involved neighborhoods as it always has. This attests to the fact that a consistent proportion of youths in given settings has needs that remain unmet through other social organizations such as family, school, and community. Gang growth has generally not involved larger recruitment within an area, but has involved the evolution of gangs in new settings.

The evidence suggests that youths seeking affiliation with gangs have much in common with nondelinquent adolescents. The dynamics which may lead to gang membership are largely normal developmental dynamics, such as: changing the focus of bonds from adults to peers, the construction of identity, the development of autonomy, the development of a supportive social network, the capacity for altruism and loyalty, etc.

There are four extremely significant conditions leading to differences in the behavior of delinquent gang members as compared to normatively socialized youths.

- First, gang members share a world view dominated by attributing cynical motivations to most outsiders, including relatives, school personnel, law enforcement personnel, and other community members. This view both reflects and further intensifies the gang members' feelings of alienation from other individuals and organizations. Perceived racism, differential scrutiny, and a repressive environment strengthen the alienation.

- Second, they define their interaction with others outside the gang as insignificant. The gang has the primary role. Part of this stems from a feeling that others lack respect for them and see them as having little to contribute. This is worsened when gang members feel that teachers hold lower expectations of them. The result is a concomitant lack of respect for others, and a heightened dependency on the gang for status attribution and acceptance.

- Third, unlike most groups with affiliations, delinquent gangs are formed more in opposition to something than in favor of something. A dynamic of conflict in an "us and them" environment is essential, even if the gang grew out of a car club or dance club or other common interest or socializing group. This is why neighborhood raids on suspected gang members and repressive policies often act to solidify loosely structured gangs and to turn primarily social groups engaged in low levels of delinquency into more seriously delinquent gangs.

- Fourth, delinquent gang members believe their life chances to be extremely limited. This includes an understanding of themselves as relatively powerless in the normal course of events. The result is a "here-and-now" attitude that stresses immediate gratification, alternative routes to power, and a relative lack of concern for the consequences of their actions. This is evident in the ineffectiveness of rigorous enforcement and imprisonment policies in deterring gang violence.

The programs which have been most successful in preventing or diminishing serious gang violence have taken these dynamics into account. Credibility is a key factor:

- Participative, collaborative, or representational approaches bolster credibility by indicating the willingness of the class, school, or community agency to listen to all its members, and to "play fair." It is particularly important that potentially alienated youths not feel singled out for judgment or investigation.

- Cooperative learning, team building, and recognition for positive effort are important to helping students feel connected to their classes. An attitude that all contribute to the progress of the class as a whole also is important. Establishing and maintaining a clear and consistent set of standards and expectations which the youths are held accountable for is important to communicating a respect for all participants. Positive reinforcement approaches should be stressed more than punitive approaches, however.

- Conflict resolution skills should be taught, and negotiating and peacekeeping skills should receive recognition. Positive sources of identity formation and bonding need to be provided through recreation, cross-age tutoring, community service, and so forth.

- Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these children, adolescents, and young adults need to be given back their futures. Training and job programs are proven means of diminishing gang activity. Similarly, programs encouraging meaningful

participation in school, graduation, and college enrollment have succeeded. Extreme behavior constitutes no real risk when the future is seen as a dead loss, and prison is seen as a means to enhanced reputation. Programs that invest the activities of the present with the promise of a meaningful future add weight to the concept of consequences—suddenly there is something to risk.

One factor uniting these promising strategies may surprise those interested in implementing gang prevention and intervention. This is the near absence of any focus on gangs *per se*. Establishing truces and practicing conflict resolutions are the only situations to the contrary.

Targeting the gang rather than the individual has proven relatively ineffective because:

- Continuing to recognize the gang rather than the individual members heightens the social power of the gang as a whole.
- Focus on the group makes individuals feel as though they are labeled and judged in stereotyped ways. This further alienates members who want to be treated for who they are as people.
- The issue is not whether the youths belong to a peer group, but whether they engage in undesirable behavior. Behavior should be the focus. Repressing gang membership does nothing to foster positive interactions in the disbanded individual.
- Though delinquent gangs reinforce, and attach cultural value to criminal behavior, potentially increasing instances and seriousness of incidents, membership in a gang accounts for relatively little additional delinquency than does simply having friends who are delinquent. Again, the focus should be on the behavior.
- The violence of delinquent gangs is deeply troubling. Still, it should be kept in perspective. A very small percentage of what gangs do is violent, the largest proportion of crimes committed are status offenses, that is, truancy, curfew violation, disturbing the peace, drinking, etc. Program efforts should be prioritized to focus more on violence reduction, and on making guns less available, than on gang membership itself.

The common focus should be safety, gun control, and reclaiming alienated individuals through improved life chances and more participative and egalitarian environments.

The gang has been a persistent social ill and a consistent indicator of the need for youth-oriented social reform for nearly 100 years. The good news is that though delinquent gangs are appearing in more communities, the great majority of youths do not join gangs. Further, if our youths are given meaningful roles to play and reasonable life chances, they are unlikely to become part of an alienated and violent subculture.

Sample Gang Intervention/Prevention Programs

The literature listed in the References provided the information on which this paper is based. A review of that literature also yielded the following information on a number of antigang violence

programs. As these programs were not evaluated by SWRL, the list does not imply that they are the most effective or that they are specifically endorsed by SWRL. The descriptions are included primarily to help provide ideas, and secondarily to provide a possible contact and resource list.

Two common program components are, in fact, discussed in this paper as often having a counterproductive effect. It should be noted that the targeting and identification of "potential" members is generally not the approach favored by SWRL, and where undertaken, should be employed cautiously to avoid generating an air of suspicion around the youth and causing further alienation. Also, programs stressing repressive or punitive elements should not be undertaken lightly and need to be balanced with positive choice alternatives for youths.

Some of the following programs aim to prevent gang membership while others have intervention strategies intended to rehabilitate gang-involved youths. Still others are primarily parent and community awareness programs.

Alternatives to Gang Membership Program
Drug and Gang Suppression Office
Long Beach, CA

The objective of the program is to show fifth and sixth graders that there are viable options to gang life. Advisers talk to the youths about life on the streets. The program also involves a class that students take dealing with violence, gang attire, graffiti, and peer pressure.

Andrew Glover Youth Program
100 Centre Street
Manhattan Criminal Court, Room 1541
New York, NY 10013
(212) 349-6381

The Andrew Glover Youth Program is a neighborhood protection program in New York's Lower East Side. Another objective is to steer youth away from negative and illegal activities. The program serves a large number of African American and Latino young people by working with police, courts, youth services, and social services to provide counseling, gang mediation, family counseling, and housing assistance. Youth workers are in contact with kids on the streets. The youth workers also live in the community and are available 24 hours a day.

B.U.I.L.D. (Broader Urban Involvement and Leadership Development)
1223 N. Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, IL 61622
(312) 227-3880

The B.U.I.L.D. program has three components. The *remediation* component helps older adolescent gang members to find alternatives such as employment, education, or practical job training. It also encourages them to participate in sponsored athletic and recreation activities. The *prevention* component targets seventh or eighth graders who have been identified by the school as potential members of street gangs. This component also works with elementary schools, presenting 14 weekly class sessions and providing after-school activities. The third component, works with local adult community groups, helping to mobilize, coordinate, and encourage them to direct their energies toward helping youth.

Citizens Against Gang Enterprises (CAGE)
Riverside County District Attorney's Office
Riverside, CA

Regular citizen's group meetings to raise gang awareness in parents. Program plans include involving police, counselors, sociologists, and school districts in these parent meetings. Emphasis is on training people to spot gang membership signs. Ideally, the program partners with the private sector to create community activities and sports alternatives to gang membership.

Centro de la Comunidad Unida
Delinquency Prevention/Gang Intervention Program
1028 South 9th Street
Milwaukee, WI 53204
(414) 384-3100

Centro de la Comunidad Unida offers Latino youth gang-associated alternatives through education, employment, counseling, and recreation. The staff assists youth who are having trouble at home, in school, with the judicial system or in the community. The program offers individual, family, and group counseling. It also provides workshops, antigang presentations and training in schools and community agencies, referral, follow-up, gang mediation, and job placement. Other program highlights include field trips to adult correctional institutions, a graffiti-removal program, and a security lighting project.

Chicago Intervention Network
Department of Human Services
500 Peshtigo Court
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 744-1820

The Chicago Intervention Network (CIN) is a citywide approach to youth crime prevention. It involves strong neighborhood participation and extensive networking among social service agencies and law enforcement agents. Alternative youth programming, parental and family support, victim assistance, and neighborhood empowerment programs such as Neighborhood Watches and parent patrols are placed in high-crime areas of Chicago. A 24-hour telephone hot line can dispatch a team of mobile social workers to deal with crises involving youth. Program staff members also intervene in gang fights.

Gang Awareness Resource Program
11515 S. Colima Road
Whittier, CA 90504
(213) 946-7916

This California's Office of Criminal Justice Planning Project provides for one deputy sheriff to work full time in the South Los Angeles County School District. The deputy responds to requests for information and orientation on gangs. Presentations about gang issues are available to qualified groups such as PTAs, school personnel, and administrators of city-, county- and community-based organizations.

Gang Crime Section
Chicago Police Department

1121 S. State Street
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 744-6328

The Gang Crime Section includes investigation and training for officers assigned to gang-related incidents. The section offers in-service training seminars of officers and it coordinates programs with civic organizations and community groups. Active gang members are identified by gang crime specialists. A police computer alerts appropriate agencies when targeted members are arrested. Gang-related crime data are analyzed to determine what areas need special gang missions.

Gang Violence Reduction Project
California Youth Authority
2445 Mariondale Street
Los Angeles, CA 90032
(213) 227-4114

The objective of this project is to redirect the energies of youth gang members into more positive activities. The project hires gang consultants who live in gang neighborhoods and will promote the project. Mediation is the principal strategy used to end feuding. Organized recreational and social events, including fishing and camping trips, picnics, handball tournaments, and trips to amusement parks are provided for gang members. This project includes a suicide hot line and General Educational Development Certificate (G.E.D.) aid through contracting with teachers.

Gangs Network Project
1200 A Avenue
National City, CA 92050
(619) 336-4400

This program develops college options for youth involved in gang and other criminal activity and students who have failed in the public school system. Financial assistance, counseling, support services, and educational programs are arranged through the program. Another objective is to educate the public and members of agencies about youth gangs through training sessions, barrio council discussion meetings, public forums, and support for programs to benefit youth. The project also helps coordinate other social service organization activities.

Gang Risk Intervention Pilot Program (GRIPP)

Various Schools and Community Organizations

State-released drug profits to fund drug intervention and prevention programs. Schools work collaboratively with a community-based organization (CBO) to develop positive programming for youth at risk. Community organizers at each program school facilitate services to students and their families. Counseling and job counseling are provided. Law enforcement personnel are encouraged to participate in school activities and in counseling.

House of Umoja (Unity)
1410 N. Frazier Street
Philadelphia, PA 19131
(215) 473-2723

The house has taken in more than 2,000 male youths since it began in 1969. The house provides between 15 and 25 boys at a time with food, shelter, $10 per week, surrogate parenting and employment opportunities. For many, the house is an alternative to juvenile institutionalization. The house's outreach program has sponsored the Black Youth Olympics, cultural exchange programs with boys from Belfast, Ireland, and local cultural programs. One of the greatest accomplishments of the house of Umoja is the 1974 pact negotiated to end gang warfare in Philadelphia. After an arranged meeting attended by 100 members of 32 gangs, gang-related deaths in the city dropped from 43 in 1973 to 32 in 1974, 6 in 1975, and 1 in 1977.

Miami Police Department Gang Detail
Community Relations Section
400 NW Second Avenue
Miami, FL 33128
(305) 579-6620

The Miami Police Gang Detail conducts gang awareness presentations for school administrators and teachers to help prevent gang crime and membership. School personnel learn to identify and target individuals for intervention. Gang members are then referred to a program that focuses on improving their educational and personal development. The police also work closely with the School Resource Officers to monitor gang members and their activity at the schools. The Detail is a member of the Multi-Agency Gang Task Force, working proactively and monitoring gang activity.

Operation Safe Streets
Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department
11515 S. Colima Road
Whittier, CA 90504
(213) 946-7916

The objective of this program is to prevent/reduce street gang violence in targeted areas of Los Angeles County. Operation Safe Streets directly attacks the total gang problem by giving gangs the highest enforcement priority. Community residents, school officials, informants, peripheral gang members, and relatives of gang members are utilized in aiding investigators whenever probable.

The Paramount Plan: Alternatives to Gang Membership
Human Services Department
City of Paramount
16400 Colorado Avenue
Paramount, CA 90723
(213) 220-2140

The Paramount Plan works to eliminate future gang membership and to diminish gang influence. The program sponsors neighborhood meetings and provides antigang curricula and posters on request. Community meetings are led by bilingual leaders and are held in neighborhoods identified by the sheriff's office as "under gang influence." They are aimed at parents and preteens. In addition, a fifth-grade antigang curriculum emphasizes constructive activities available in the

neighborhood. The Paramount Plan also includes an intermediate school follow-up program and an antigang family and individual counseling component.

Positive Adolescents Choices Training (PACT)
110 Health Science
Wright State University
Dayton, OH 45435
(513) 873-2391

This is a social skills training program for adolescents. PACT aids participants in learning how to resist aggressive impulses and how to communicate and negotiate with aggressive peers. Instruction is provided to small groups of 7-10 members. Groups are led by graduate clinical psychology students supervised by a licensed clinical psychologist. Participants watch videotaped illustrations of desired behavior, then role play the behavior while being taped. They then watch themselves on videotape. Lessons include: giving positive feedback, giving negative feedback, accepting negative feedback, resisting peer pressure, problem solving, and negotiation.

Project COURAGE
Riverside County Office of Education
3939 Thirteenth Street
Riverside, CA 92501
(714) 369-6460

Project COURAGE (Community Organizations United To Reduce the Area Gang Environment) was designed to provide youth with positive alternatives that will serve as deterrents from gang membership and substance abuse. The program offers tutoring in all school subjects; academic, family, and personal counseling; self-esteem, antigang, antidrug, and health and nutrition workshops; job placement and on-the-job training; and sports activities. After-school and weekend programs for students also are provided.

Regional Educational Alliance for Gang Activities (REAGA)
Puget Sound Educational Service Agency
12320 80th Avenue South
Seattle, WA 98178
(206) 772-6944

REAGA is a cooperative effort of 22 public school districts and 8 law enforcement agencies and community groups in the Puget Sound region to combat gang activity in the schools. Educators and Parent-Teacher Associations are taught about causes of gangs, signs of gangs, and how to help reduce or prevent the formation of gangs in their communities. The program conducts extensive staff development activities, provides consultation to individual schools on gang-related issues, and maintains a gang information resource library of videos and publications on gangs and drugs.

Say Yes, Incorporated
3840 Crenshaw Boulevard, Suite 217
Los Angeles, CA 90008
(213) 295-5551

This program offers crisis intervention, field monitoring, and workshops for school staffs. Staff members learn about gangs operating in the neighborhood, gang characteristics, and gang problems.

Say Yes teams monitor selected athletic events to prevent the outbreak of violence. These teams supplement regular school, security, and law enforcement personnel. The staff also monitors elementary, junior, and senior high schools, provides rap sessions, and sponsors athletic and summer job programs as well as Neighborhood Watch programs.

Scholarship in Escrow
Cleveland, OH

A partnership program between Cleveland Public Schools and the private sector was created to reward academic achievement. The program creates a trust fund for *all* students enrolled in grades 7-12. The partnership credits student trust funds with $10 for every C, $20 for every B, and $40 for every A earned in school. Each student receives a certificate indicating amount earned while the trust fund earns interest. Students have up to 8 years to use their scholarship money at any Pell-Grant certified college or technical school.

Second Step: A Violence Prevention Curriculum Committee for Children
172 20th Avenue
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 322-5050

This violence prevention curriculum focuses on building empathy. The basic social skills also emphasized are impulse control and anger management. The elementary level kits include materials and instructions for teaching 60 related social skills at grade level. The kits intended for junior high, grades six-eight, add problem-solving components.

Senior Tutors for Youth in Detention
3640 Grand Avenue
Oakland, CA 94610
(415) 839-1039

Retirees from the Rossmore retirement county in Walnut Creek tutor young people in detention facilities and group homes in Contra Costa County for two hours in written and verbal skills, vocational opportunities and mock job interviews, parenting skills, and ethics and morality. Dr. Sondra Napell began the program in 1983. The project aims to help enhance the self-esteem of the youths and to foster positive experiences with caring adults. For many of the boys and girls, these visits with the tutors are the only consistent, positive exposures they have had. Students are eager to learn and are extremely solicitous of their tutors, most of whom are from different socioeconomic backgrounds. The tutors currently visit youths in county detention facilities and private group homes, and they have been asked to launch a similar pilot program in the public schools at the middle-school level.

TIES
The Dorchester Youth Collaborative
1514A Dorchester Avenue
Dorchester, MA 02122
(617) 288-1748

TIES prevention clubs steer youth into structured, goal-oriented activities with a special focus on community projects. This includes involvement with the Common Ground prevention club that brings youths of diverse ethnic backgrounds together to work on a variety of projects and performances. Community service teams may shovel snow or clean garages for community residents; others may become involved in youth leadership programs. Common Ground groups have given song/rap performances in six states and locally have become very visible through their antidrug audio and video public service media announcements.

U.S. Department of Justice Community Relations Service
5550 Friendship Boulevard
Chevy Chase, MD 20815
(301) 492-5929

This service specializes in race-related conflicts on school campuses, including gang-related problems, training of peer mediation teams, and problems involving unequal educational opportunities and disciplinary treatment of minorities. They have been called in to ease tense transitions in school desegregation in Boston and New York and have assisted with other related incidents. Community Relations Service branch offices are located in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City (MO), Denver, Dallas, Seattle, and San Francisco. Telephone numbers of branch offices should be listed under the U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service, in local telephone directories.

Vietnamese Community Orange County, Inc.
3701 W. McFadden Avenue, Suite M
Santa Ana, CA 92704
(714) 775-2637

This nonprofit organization oversees four programs to assist the Vietnamese community in family relations and related issues. Their Youth Counseling and Crime/Drug Abuse Prevention Program works in conjunction with prosecutors, educators, probation officers, and law enforcement officers to prevent Vietnamese youth from joining gangs. A youth counselor visits area schools regularly and talks to students and guidance counselors and also offers English tutoring, housing, and employment services for refugees.

Youth Development, Inc.
1710 Centro Familiar SW
Albuquerque, NM 87105
(505) 873-1604

YDI's Gang Intervention Program provides three levels of services. The goal of *Prevention Services* is to inform and educate the public about issues related to gangs, and to provide alternatives to gang membership for children and youth. *Intervention Services* target youth identified by the schools, the probation department, the police or YDI outreach programs, who are on the verge of entering a gang. Services include individual, group, and family counseling; employment and educational services; and youth leadership programs. *Diversion Services* targets youth who are actively involved in gang activity and have been charged with a delinquent offense.

Most of these participants are court ordered into this program and would otherwise be facing institutional commitments. They are required to participate in an eight-week group program that provides a combination of: counseling, education, and employment services; community service projects; and AIDS and substance abuse information. Parents of these youths also must attend a group meeting.

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